Résumé

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The Pattern of Migration in Zambia

INTRODUCTION

Though nature abhors a vacuum it does not follow that the social sciences are equally able to readily fill large gaps in knowledge about the social world. Not least migration in Sub-Saharan Africa with which this paper is concerned, specifically the increasing inapplicability of general descriptions of the Region to Zambia. An authoritative description which is no longer accurate declares that

"[at] present the dominant pattern in some regions, notably in South Africa and the Rhodesias, is an oscillation between villages, organised on the basis of subsistence economy and cities, plantations and commercial farms that offer opportunities for employment for wages—-with limited periods of stay by migrants at the commercial centres." ¹

The assessors of this scene further note that "periods of wage work often extend through one or two years or longer."² It will be shown that in the case of Zambia, formerly one of the Rhodesias, "longer" is the operative period of rural-urban migration. With this lengthening of the period of labour migration the movement of females has increased but, with a notable exception,³ little interest has been shown in sex differences among migrants in Africa. The benchmark survey of knowledge of African population, sponsored by the Population Council,⁴ makes this clear. This paper is a contribution to an "urgent need at this stage of African demography. . . the systematic evaluation and analysis of the basic data now being produced"⁵ and thereby involves secondary analysis of published data.

At least since the 1935 Committee on Emigrant Labour in Malawi spotlighted the muchona, the men lost to the rural areas as a result of

² Ibid.: 298.
⁵ Lorimer et al.: 302.
labour migration, as the social problem there has been widespread public concern about the impact of demographic processes on emerging societies throughout Southern Africa. Employment opportunities by mines, as in Zambia, have produced "the most significant effects" through migration on new kinds of social organisations. This evaluation is a limited attempt to describe the most significant effect in Zambia where by 1963 about 13 per cent of the population born in the rural areas of the country lived in the towns of their own country.

This evaluation will proceed in three steps. In the first section the Regional pattern of migration, a past phenomenon in Zambia, will be outlined. Next, the new Zambian pattern of migration will be described. Finally, an attempt to relate these findings to a conceptual framework for understanding migration patterns elsewhere will be attempted to facilitate comparative analysis.

I. — Short-Term Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa

The importance, rather than the volume, of the migrant streams can be gauged from that fact that during the 1950s some 60 per cent of the urban population of Africa was composed of migrants. Descriptions of rural-urban migration in the Sub-Saharan Africa Region display marked consensus and show that the "migratory movement is selective, drawing primarily young unmarried males." As a result "there is a marked excess of men over women, which tends to make marriage unstable, and which also prevents the stabilisation of the population in the towns" for men will return to the villages in search of women. A considerable out-migration from the towns is only partly due to this demographic situation, other social conditions must also be taken into account.

Sex ratios are most disproportionate in the industrial centres which have arisen and mushroomed in growth during the present century while the traditional urban centres in West Africa, established before the Colonial Era, tend to attract roughly equal proportions of men and women. But South African industrial towns where, for instance, during 1911-1921 increases in the population of Africans was "largely accounted from the increase in the native females" may be unique and require omission from this

distinction of traditional and industrial towns in terms of the sex ratios of their migrant populations.

Two major migration patterns are distinguishable. Seasonal movements may be the more important in West Africa in contrast to the short-term migration pattern characteristic of Eastern, Central, and South-Central Africa.¹ Men are away from their villages for up to two years for short-term migrations and in both patterns "wives remain in the rural areas and the migrants return there at the end of a period of work."² Thus the male migrant plays disparate roles in the dual indigenous and cash economies of Africa. Even while away from his rural kinsmen, at work in a town, a labourer remains involved in the life of his village and tribe and in this belief his wife is prepared to await his return. Through one role the migrant satisfies his own cash needs by working in an industrial-urban centre; in another role he and others "fulfil their social obligations" in rural areas by shuffling between the disparate socio-economies.³

Two adaptive and one rigid types of tribe, defined by responses to the spread of cash economies, each with its distinct migrational concomitants have been recognised. Tribal Africans may acquire cash by commercial farming or fishing. When this factor of adaptation to a cash economy occurs "the rate of labour migration drops."⁴ The other adaptive tribe is organised in such a way that it has a labour surplus, underemployment, when the men are in the villages and still retains enough combined female and male labour to maintain production and subsistence levels while men are absent in the towns.⁵ Labour migration is the means by which this kind of adaptive tribe responds to the import of a money economy. By contrast, a state of full employment in a tribe before migration occurs makes it rigid. As a result of the absence of males essential tasks cannot be completed, production falls, famine periods lengthen. Rigid tribes of this kind seem to be the majority of those which supply short-term migrants in Central Africa and South Africa, but this is not obviously so with respect to East Africa. From these distinctions it seems possible to predict trends such as that adaptive societies will in the future supply migrants who continue to circulate between town and country whereas those rigid societies whose productive arrangements are not viable and experience declining levels of living will increasingly send their men on

². Ibid.: 253.
⁴. Mitchell 1959: 24 and 34.
one-way journeys to towns. As a result these rigid tribes are the principal source of the stabilised, urban populations.¹

Women are a neglected factor in the study of the circulation of labour. Though they follow men to the towns they do so in smaller numbers “and for rather different reasons.”² Town life may contain more advantages for women than men³ and usually makes them less inclined to return to the villages as can be seen from features of the stabilisation of male and female populations in towns.⁴ This, coupled with the attachments men form with women in towns and in particular with women from tribes other than their own, “keeps the men from returning to their homes in the rural areas.”⁵ It is predictable that this is especially the case of men from those tribes which find it most difficult to adapt to modern conditions. This is to reason that women in towns are a secondary cause of the interruption of the cycle whereby short-term labour migrants are continuously moving from village to town to village, etc.

II. — Long-Term Migration in Zambia

From this description of migration in the Region it seems 1) that the scale of urbanisation in Africa would not have been achieved without migration; 2) that single men predominate among labour migrants; 3) that their migration has a tendency to terminate at its point of origin in the villages within three years of commencement; and 4) that men from adaptive tribes are likely to continue to circulate between town and country in the future; but 5) that a counter-tendency is revealed among rigid tribes who increasingly send their men on one-way journeys to the towns; 6) that the majority of women stay at their village hearths pending the return of men; and 7) that those few women who do find their way to towns decelerate the return of men to the villages. Each of these points will be examined in turn to enable comparison between the Zambian and these wider Regional experiences.

Tables I, II and III will be drawn on for this purpose. Table I is derived from the 1960 Demographic Sample Surveys of the eight main towns and the 1963 Census of Africans in Zambia. Socio-economic organizations, here assumed to be discrete provinces each of which is homogeneous in its domestic conditions, determined the pushes experienced by migrants. Table I reveals the effect of these pushes as well as the pulls exerted by industrial-labour centres. It deals with the rate and not

³ Ibid.: 45-51.
⁵ Jones: 164.
the incidence of migration and the outcome of the pushes from each province. With the information at hand it is impossible to delineate the migration pattern of each Zambian province more accurately and the best information is the vague semi-quantitative picture derived from the "circumstantial evidence" of Table 1.

**Table 1**

**Circumstantial Evidence of Migration in Zambia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>Rural Out-Migration</th>
<th>Urban In-Migration</th>
<th>Sex Ratios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males (1)</td>
<td>Females (2)</td>
<td>Sex Ratios (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Hinterland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Western</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barotseland</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line of Rail</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copperbelt</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Hinterland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luapula</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abercorn District)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fort Jameson</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1. Adults aged 22 and over in 1963 (excluding Africans not born in Zambia) resident in non-urban areas.
2. Rate of in-migration to main towns in 1960. In-migrants resident in main towns as percentage of all persons born in Provinces and resident in Zambia.

Three measures of migration are contained in Table I. The first to be mentioned concerns sex ratios which it has been argued provide clues to migration patterns. According to this approach balanced sex ratios

1. MITCHELL 1959: 32.
indicate zero migration. From differences in the sex ratios of town and country, such as 90 males to 100 females in the country and 110 males to 100 females in town, it has been inferred that an abnormal position prevails in both town and country and people will circulate to redress these imbalances. Unfortunately it has only just been realised that by themselves sex ratios may be misleading as to the volume of migration if similar proportions of males and females enter a particular migration stream and this had occasioned the second measure of migration used in Table I. To illustrate, the fairly high migration from the Central Province would not have been revealed by a study of sex ratios alone. To overcome this in part and provide clues as to the movement of women in Zambia, for whom it has been written "No information was available" in the 1963 Census which is here employed for the very purpose of providing information about female migrants the proportion of each sex category who were adult is presented in columns (1) and (2). Rough emigration rates emerge from this information and comparison between each province becomes possible. It is presumed that the North-Western Province with 52 per cent of its females of adult years has experienced less female out-migration than the Northern Province where only 41 per cent of all females are adults. This is the soundest evidence of out-migration from the rural areas available even though it is not possible to express the volume of out-migrants as a proportion. It is superior, with the information available in Zambia, to the measure proposed by Southall. He has constructed an emigration rate by subtracting from the total population of a tribe recorded by census in a country numbers of that tribe resident in its home district. A similar exercise for each province would remain defective, perhaps for the reason that Southall's measure as used in East Africa may be defective, because many Zambians live outside their country and would thereby be excluded from the Southall emigration rate which would under-report the scale of out-migration. The Southall measure, however, can be adapted to depict urban in-migration and is employed for this purpose in Table I columns (4) to (6).

In order to minimise distortion occasioned by the rural to rural migration of Africans resident in the rural areas who were born outside Zambia, aliens are excluded from Table I columns (1) to (3). Zambia forms part of an international labour market which shrinks little with each step in the course of political change: independence to former colonial possessions; Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia, etc. Nevertheless many Zambians continue to live outside their


2. Protheroe: 257.

own country and more than 40,000 were employed in Rhodesia when Ian Smith announced the UDI. Part of the Rhodesian sanction against Zambia is to swell the unemployed in Zambia by repatriates from Rhodesia. But the point is that column (7) represents only those rural migrants from Zambia who were enumerated as resident in the main towns of Zambia in 1960. Barotseland was an important supplier of labour to the Rand in South Africa until 1965, the Southern and Eastern Provinces to Rhodesia, and the Luapula to the Copperbelt in the Congo and this precludes any attempt to solely depend upon column (7) for information about the proportions of the sexes who left the rural areas in each province. Naturally foreign born Africans resident in the main towns are omitted from columns (4) to (7).

**Table II**

**Some Facts which Push Migrants from Rural Areas***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Urban Areas in Provinces</th>
<th>Per Capita Contribution to National Income*</th>
<th>Density per Square Mile</th>
<th>Sex Ratios for all Adults, 1963</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>Cash Sales</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Hinterland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Western</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barotseland</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines of Rail</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copperbelt</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Hinterland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luapula</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1. Arising from Agriculture and Lands in 1964.

Table II represents a few of the factors which pushed migrants out of the rural areas. Column (2) must be read with caution because whereas in 1964 the 700 European farmers each had cash sales worth £22,000 the 450,000 African families in the rural areas only had cash sales of £11.5 apiece. In other words, column (2) does not distinguish between
the cash-sales of Africans and Europeans. Some 2,000 Africans in the
cash-cropping areas of the Line of Rail and the Eastern Province were
peasant-farmers, however, and three-quarters of these were concentrated
in the Eastern Province. Registration as peasant-farmers ensured that
they received special technical advice and loans, but even so their income
from sales in 1960-61 was at the low figure of £50 per farm. Column (4)
indicates the provinces which experience population pressures which,
though low by world standards, are of acute concern locally: two-thirds
of the rural areas are virtually uninhabited and 4 per cent of these areas
accommodate one-third of the rural population. This concentration
mainly occurs within the cash-cropping provinces and so column (4) can
be relied upon as a useful guide to population pressures, with the exception
of the situation in the Luapula where in parts overcrowding is the densest
in Zambia. Whereas Table I provides evidence of sex differences between
migrants when leaving the rural areas, Table III indicates something of
the proportions between the adult sexes on arrival in towns. It is derived
from a fertile series of sociographic studies undertaken by the Rhodes-
Livingstone Institute, now the Institute of Social Research, Lusaka.

1) Zambian towns contain a larger proportion of in-migrants than the
Regional average, with the result that in 1960 about 72 per cent of the
African population of the main towns were in-migrants. On the assumption
that the natural increase of the urban population was 3.5 per cent and
that the remaining 4.5 per cent increase was due to the influx of migrants,
and that there was no out-migration, it would appear that 42,000 in-
migrants joined the towns of Zambia in 1966-67 which then attained
a total of 931,300 Africans.

2) But such a high proportion of in-migrants among an urban popula-
tion is not necessarily a sign that the in-migrants are single, according to
the Zambian experience. No quantitative evidence about the conjugal
status of migrants at their points of departure is available, but Table III
column (3) marshals the evidence at the points of reception. Perhaps no
more than one in three of the in-migrant males were single in the conjugal
sense. But in the sense that married men might be unaccompanied by
spouses on their townward trips it will he agreed that this was probably
the norm: the husband found a job, next married quarters, and then
wrote for his wife to join him in town. Undoubtedly these in-migrants
were young as compared to the peasant-farmers in the Eastern Province
whose mean age was 46 in 1960-61. Only 4.2 per cent of the urban
population in contrast to 13.1 per cent in the rural areas were found to
have been born before 1918, by the 1963 Census.

### Table III

**Marital Status of Urban Africans in Zambia**: Adult Men and Women %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line of Rail</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Copperbelt (1951)</td>
<td>Married:</td>
<td>Married:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wives</td>
<td>Wives at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broken Hill (1949)</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusaka (1957)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livingstone (1952)</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Hinterland</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

3) **Until the early 1960s there were three sound reasons** why a labourer should ultimately return to a village. Before Independence was granted to the country in 1964, it was practically impossible for an African to own land or property in a town and when, on retirement, he found himself without an adequate cash income and no longer able to afford to rent a home he was compelled to leave town. What home-ownership schemes were operated by local authorities and mining companies after 1950 appealed to mere 78 owner-occupier Africans by 1964. When a man returned to his village he found his only tangible personal wealth: land. By law this could not be alienated and sold and it was the duty of headmen to protect the cultivation rights of absentees from the villages. Some 94 per cent of the land in Zambia is disposable in this way. But a man returned to more than land in his village. What little capital he had acquired while away, such goodwill as he had accumulated by judicious generosity on his periodic holidays in his village, would enable him to re-enter the stream of village life and secure his welfare in old age.

Nevertheless, a number of factors to divorce the town-dwellers from their rural roles operated, especially from the 1950s onwards and under-

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mined short-term migration. Nowadays people drift back to their villages after a long while in town. It was found in the early 1950s that more than two-fifths of the men and women on the Copperbelt and in Livingstone had spent more than ten years away from their villages and “We also know that a substantial proportion of the same people have spent more than two-thirds of their adult lives in towns rather than in their tribal areas,” that is between 26.7 and 40.3 per cent of the population investigated, “and have therefore presumably chosen urban life, in preference to rural life.”1 From the same series of studies we learn about the median number of years men and women were absent from the rural areas according to the kind of housing area in which they lived—this does not in all cases imply a high causal connection. For instance, in the domestic housing area the median years of absence by males was as low as 4.1 whereas in the private housing areas the median period of absence by males was 14.7 years; the periods during which females were absent from the rural areas also varied according to the housing area in which they lived from 4.1 years to 10.3 years.2 This same point was made as early as 1941 in the classic study of urbanisation in the oldest mining camp on the line of rail.

“It is generally assumed that African male workers in town are, typically, migrant labourers; that is, they spend recurrent, short and roughly equal periods of time in town and country, throughout their early working lives, returning finally to the country in middle-age. Such a pattern of behaviour, however, though it was doubtless typical twelve or fifteen years ago [in the 1920s] and though the slump compelled thousands temporarily to conform to it, is not now typical at all. The rising demand for labour in the towns, the possibility of bringing wives to town and the poverty of the manless rural areas have combined to change MIGRANT LABOUR into TEMPORARY URBANISATION.”3

Today this holds for all the urban areas in Zambia.

4) To what extent will adaptive tribes participate in the circulation of labour? This question must be considered for each kind of adaptive society and with respect to the rates at which migrants leave and return to an adaptive tribe.

a) Cash-cropping adaptive tribes:

“As a tentative generalisation, it would appear that in the areas in which agricultural production for market can be carried out successfully the absence of male labour for wage employment is relatively lower than in the provinces in which agricultural production is a less profitable alternative.”4

Cash-cropping has been of note in the Luapula, Eastern, Southern, and Central Provinces. The Luapula “valley in fact is a desirable place to

live, materially,"¹ it was reported for the late 1940s and in consequence the proportion of labourers from the valley on the Copper Mines between 1940 and 1950 "has declined, very probably because of the developments of a fishing industry on the Luapula which provides an alternative source of income."² Today the Luapula remains adaptive primarily though labour-migration and the impact of commercial fishing in the 1940s was no more than an interlude in this characteristic which has often been remarked since the beginning of this century. Similarly among the Plateau Tonga, a numerous tribe in the Southern Province,

"The shift to cash-crops apparently occurred between 1925 and 1930. Labour migration continued to exist, but it has played a minor role in Tonga life. Over the years there has been a steady decline in the length of time that men spend in employment, and an increase in the number of men who have never been away to work"³ was the situation reported for the late 1940s.

Turning to a parish in the Central Province we learn that 64 per cent of males were away at work in 1960

"due partly to increased employment opportunities on the mines and in industry and partly to the poor economic situation existing at home [...]. Yet by 1963 there appeared to be a distinct drop in the proportion of men absent [...]. One reason for this could have been the increased opportunities existing at home for earning cash."⁴

None of these reports of the Central, Southern and Luapula Provinces substantiates the generalisation that cash-cropping reduces the rate of labour migration to levels which are "relatively lower than in the provinces in which agricultural production is a less profitable alternative." This conclusion was anticipated by a report on the Lenje, near Broken Hill, and on the Eastern Province.

"The contrast between the situation of a tribe such as the Lenje which has a market for produce open to it, and that normal among the other tribes is most marked. Only 23% of the Lenje taxpayers are away in the European centres at any one time; and, as many Lenje women are away also, the disproportion of the rural population is relatively slight [...]. They have an effective choice between the sale of their labour and the sale of their grain, their hens, their caterpillars and their fish."⁵

If the rate of emigration of males from the Lenje is low it is of interest that from this prosperous tribe "many [...]. women are away also."

¹. I. G. Cunnison, The Luapula Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, Manchester, 1959: 29.
Turning to the Eastern Province where three-quarters of the peasant farmers in Zambia “prosper” it is found that “The rate of migration is, in fact, greatest in Petauke and Fort Jameson Districts where agricultural progress has been most marked.” From these reports it should not be strange to discover that in some zones where cash-cropping has progressed there is a high rate of out-migration by both men and women. This is the meaning of Table I columns (1) and (2), a fact which would have been concealed had column (3) been used as the principal guide to this information as recommended. If the Provinces are ranked by their comparative proportionate contributions to migration, 1 indicates the province with the greatest proportionate contribution and 8 the province with the least. Columns (1) and (2) combined reveal that the cash-cropping provinces occupy the following rankings: Copperbelt 8; Central Province 5; Eastern Province 3; Southern Province 3; Luapula Province 2. Similarly column (1) yields the following ranking for male migration: Copperbelt 8; Central Province 6; Southern Province 4; Luapula Province 3; and Eastern Province 2. The rank order of the out-migration of women by provinces is Copperbelt 6; Eastern Province 5; Central Province 4; Southern Province 3; and Luapula Province 1. It is possible that some of the 44,000 unemployed who had been pushed into the rural areas in 1963 were resident on the Copperbelt and inflated the proportion of adult males shown in column (1). Only the Northern Province makes a greater contribution to migration than the cash-cropping provinces, apart from the Copperbelt.

Cash-cropping is thus just one of several variables which affect migration. Ease of communications is obviously one of these which affects the migration of women in particular: the Luapula is in daily contact with what the Belgians called Elizabethville in the Congo and the Copperbelt in that region; the Central and Southern Provinces are on the line of rail and adjacent to a string of townships; and the people from the Eastern Province have been accustomed to travelling to Rhodesia via Malawi as much as to the line of rail. Though UDI by Rhodesia has altered this pattern and directed more of them to the line of rail. A survey of main towns in 1960 revealed that their geographical position had an important bearing on the source of their African population. Towns on the Copperbelt derived 34 per cent of their population from people born in the province; the corresponding figures for main towns in the Central and Southern Provinces were 48 per cent and 37 per cent respectively. Overcrowding is another important variable which pushes people out of rural areas. Its extent is understated in Table II column (4) which nevertheless shows that the cash-cropping provinces are in the most densely populated rural areas of Zambia. Selecting natural regions in place of whole provinces as meaningful units to depict population

distributions, the following densities per square mile pertained in 1963: in the Luapula-Mweru valley 48; the Eastern Province Plateau 47; the Southern Province Plateau 43; and Lusaka-Mumbwa in the Central Province 26.

b) Labour-migration adaptive tribes: it may be that cash-cropping tribes remain viable because the pressures on their resources are relieved by the exodus of men and women in their prime, but it is not so clear that these migrants will return in middle-age though the relative prosperity of these tribes is certainly an attraction and there are indications that the social structures of these tribes readily reabsorb migrants, or were able to some twenty odd years ago when they were studied. There is perhaps more certainty that tribes that adapt to the exchange economy through labour migration are more likely to experience a higher rate of complete circulation than cash-cropping tribes when they remain viable. The economic viability of labour-migration adaptive tribes, it would seem, does not depend on curtailing out-migration, for this would lead to poverty, but on securing the return of migrants. It is possible to present indirect evidence of the fortunes of two tribes which have adapted by labour migration and make inferences from this about the return of migrants. In the Fort Jameson District of the Eastern Province live the Cewa whose consanguineal organisation "is well adapted to a high labour migration rate."

If there was increasing poverty among these people this might be reflected in an increase in their rate of labour migration but in 1962 only 2 per cent more Cewa men were away than in 1951. Furthermore, compared to the Eastern Province average percentages of men and women in the total sex categories fewer Cewa were absent than was the norm for their province. Among the Mambwe of the Abercorn District in the Northern Province disaster will result when there are more than two women for every man in the villages but in 1963 it would seem that there remains a fair margin of safety. But this has dropped from around 91 males to every 100 females in 1951. However, this difference may be due in part to two definitions of adult: in 1951 an adult was probably 18 years or more whereas in 1962 it was taken as 22 years or more. The distinction between the kinds of adaptive tribes breaks down when, as seems to be the case in the Eastern Province, tribes participate in both cash-cropping and a high rate of labour migration, with women tending to remain in the villages. Yet the case of the Luapula is that of adaptive labour-migratory tribes whose women circulate almost as much as men and so the Eastern Province pattern may not be the characteristic model.

2. Watson.
5) The proposition that rigid tribes will tend to send their men on one-way journeys to the towns is a long-term prediction based upon observation of the effects of absolute and relative deprivation upon rural peoples: absolute material deprivation, starvation, will compel people to move in the hope that at some point in their journey they will find subsistence; relative deprivation is occasioned by the envy which results from comparison between the levels of living in a rural area and the podgy, well-dressed, Coca Cola drinking townspeople. As Read observed:

“What we refer to nowadays as the ‘African’s love of Adventure’ [. . .] is part of his traditional urge to seek a new and more propitious environment when impoverished soils and successive bad seasons made him leave his village home [. . .] The gulf between urban and rural standards makes for a profound malaise in the villages.”

If these observations explain the principal motivations underlying the rates of migration from rigid tribes, how do they apply to the North-Western Province, Barotseland, and the Northern Province which contain the majority of the rigid tribes in Zambia? One instantly notes in Table I columns (1) and (2) that the provinces in the Western Hinterland send a smaller proportion of their adults to the towns than the Northern Province. All these provinces experience absolute deprivation, but in Barotseland this is a phenomenon which has occurred since the 1940s. Barotseland and the North-Western Province, however, may not experience relative deprivation to the same degree as the Northern Province and this may account for the differential migration records of these provinces, which are equally penalised by poor communications and remoteness from the towns. For instance, not until 1961 did nationalism sweep into Barotseland whereas the Northern Province showed its hostility to colonialism as soon as any other province—and there are grounds for supposing that the Watch Tower activities in this province until 1935 put it beyond the close control of the Provincial Administration and marked the early immersement of this province in the affairs of a wider world. Rigid tribes which experience absolute deprivation alone are more likely to attract their absentees when they have accumulated a little capital in middle age than those rigid tribes stricken by the malaise of relative deprivation which erodes the quality of traditional life after which so many migrants hanker. In the latter kind of tribe more women will follow the men to town.

6) The proposition that women migrate less than men and tend to remain in the villages is born out by rural and urban sex ratios of persons

aged 22 and more in 1963. Exclusive of Africans born outside Zambia, there were 82 men for every 100 women in the rural areas and 163 men for every 100 women in the urban areas. This situation was aptly explained by Wilson:

“In town women are at a premium, in the country they are at a discount [...] In town there are too few women, so the odd men try to make them go round, in the country there are too few men, so the odd women try to make them go round, as best they can [...] As long as this disproportion in the urban and rural populations continues, so long will there inevitably be continuous circulation between them.”

Now this picture very much relates to the past and requires qualification by analysis of age and provincial patterns of migration. First, there is evidence that younger women and children are arriving at towns in greater numbers than corresponding males. In 1960 in the eight main towns, in the age group 20-29 there were 110 women to every 100 men and there were 146 women for every 100 men in the age group 20-24. Examination of the figures from which these ratios are derived create the impression that girls are entering the towns in greater numbers than boys from the age of 13 and onwards. If older women are inhibited from leaving their villages it cannot be said that this now holds for younger females. Second, even more interesting than Table I column (2), which shows a surprisingly high rate of migration by women in general, is the fact that there are two patterns of provincial migration.

One pattern involves the Western Hinterland, the Northern and Eastern Provinces, and is the older pattern of a pronounced tendency for more men than women to migrate. But the other pattern of the Southern, Central, and Luapula Provinces—with cash-cropping and easy access to the towns—shows women migrating at just short of the rate of men. A clearer intention to form family units in the towns may be inferred from this pattern than from the first.

7) **Children, sexual and domestic services**, responsibilities for health, education and welfare are the rights and duties represented by marriage. Whereas the rights and freedom of marriage are easily available in the tribal setting to a man married to a woman of his own tribe, but not necessarily to a woman from another tribe, the responsibilities of marriage may best be discharged with the help of the amenities and other facilities of a town. Thus a common life with a woman ties or commits a migrant labourer to a town. By means of factor analysis, Mitchell² has constructed a measure of urban ties which necessitates measuring the extent to which one indicator is correlated with other indicators. The amount to which marriage, for instance, interconnects with other indicators reflects

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its urban commitment and influence in keeping a man in a town. Weights measure the degree of interconnectedness of a particular indicator and the combined weights total 100. A weight of 11.5 was determined as the contribution living with a woman made to the involvement of a man in a Zambian town. This refinement is a far distance from the first measure of the influence of woman on the movement of a man in Zambia, constructed for Broken Hill in 1940. It was then found that an average married man whose wife lived with him had spent 9 years and 8 months in town; a man whose wife was in the village had spent 4 years and 1 month in town; and the typical single man or youth had spent 3 years and 10 months in town. A portrayal of the behaviour which was associated with this, provided by Wilson, will handsomely serve for the whole of urban Zambia today.

"The circulation of population between town and country has changed its character; it now consists more in movement of the general population, less in movement of young men. Young unmarried men still go home fairly frequently, but married men whose wives are with them do not; they normally stay where they are in town, while their wives go home on visits, and their parents, parents-in-law and mothers' brothers come from the country to visit them. Elderly men and women from the country who have four or five junior relatives living in one town very often find it more profitable to visit that town themselves than to wait for visits from it."1

One measure of the importance of a marital union is that in the eight main towns, in 1960, 87 per cent of the population lived in family units.

Though short-term migration characterises the Region, long-term migration, associated with temporary urbanisation, marks the movement of population in present day Zambia.

— If a migrant in a town is a person who was born in a rural area, migrants form a larger proportion of the urban population of Zambia than in the Region as a whole.

— Married men predominate among the labour in-migrants to Zambian towns.

— Whereas short-term migration refers to circulation from village to town to village in the space of three years and less, long-term migration is movement from village to town, a pause for the duration of a wage-working life, and then back to village in middle-age.

— No patterns of differences are discernible between the rates of migration from adaptive and rigid provinces. Adaptation is primarily through labour migration and only secondarily through commercial fishing and farming in the Luapula, Southern, Central, Eastern Provinces in contrast to the Copperbelt. The viability of adaptive provinces may depend on lessening the pressure on resources through the exodus of population and

so the attractions of these provinces to townspeople about to discontinue life in the towns is uncertain. It is not yet known whether the return rates to adaptive provinces will vary from those of rigid provinces.

— Rigid areas which experience considerable relative deprivation send people on one-way journeys to town in the sense that these people are not expected to return, if at all, before retirement in middle-age. This is the case of the Northern Province. But rigid provinces, like Barotseland and the North-Western Province, which mainly experience absolute deprivation do not totally alienate their members and keep in closer touch with their absentees, whose migration pattern conforms to the short-term migration model.

— Younger women now leave the villages at least in the same numbers as young men while older women who have never migrated prefer to await the return of men. Rigid provinces which experience mainly absolute deprivation may be an exception to this and tend to immobilise their females more than other provinces.

— Four-fifths of the urban population now live in family households and so the majority of African men in urban areas are inhibited from dislocating the life of these units by decamping back to their villages. Though unconfirmed in many essential details, these appear to be the salient elements in Zambian migration. No longer can we echo Wilson’s observation of 1941, with a short-term migration model in mind, that circulation of population is the keystone to the dual economies of the country. As the circulation of labour slows down the divorce between these economies and two distinct ways of life becomes a reality.

III. — Principles of Selectivity

Bogue has presented a number of hypotheses designed to express the principles of selectivity involved in migration. Consistent with U.S. data, these hypotheses “may also be consistent with migration events in other nation.”¹ The validity of several of the “principles of selectivity” can be tested by fitting them to the findings of this paper; at the same time these findings can be placed in a comparative and interregional perspective.

A similar conception of evolution underlies Bogue’s first hypothesis and the long series of reports from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Zambia, as shown on schema page 210.

Thus every migration stream has a history, every migration history belongs to its own stage of social organisation, every migration stream between two points over time will be transformed by impact with

successive and more complex stages of social organisation. The migration invasion gives place to colonisation by a changeover from one system of "routine movement" to another. The first was the recruited labour system whereby for many kinds of wage employment it was obligatory for recruiters to return labourers back to their villages when they finished their contracts, and so the circulation of short-term migration was completed. But in 1927 only 11,000 recruits left Zambia for work in other countries compared to 31,000 casual labourers. This witnessed the growth of casual labour system during which it took longer for a migrant to find a job because he did not have the requisite information at his point of departure and because he did not have the transport facilities of recruiters. But under the casual labour system a man could take his wife with him to his place of employment. These institutional changes are cited because they were common to some other emerging countries and are a necessary complement to the historical principle of selectivity: choice became a reality to a free labourer and his family, personal selectivity as opposed to industrial selectivity increasingly operated.

Bogue's second hypothesis of rural depopulation of the fittest, most able, and best educated also operated. From 1938 onwards provincial reports lament the exodus of achievement-motivated and educated personnel whom it had been hoped would offer an alternative to traditional rural leadership. Consequently the quality of rural life lagged more than it would have done otherwise, and an environment which would have retarded the exodus of many rural people could not set in. Development from above, with all its delays, became the need in place of vigorous growth from the grass roots. It is almost despite the assistance of government from above that such development as has occurred was marked by the growth of cash-cropping in the Southern Province—other rural social

organisations were less fitted to cope with the talent drain to the towns. When streams of migrants cross and flow in two directions, Bogue hypothesised, there would be minimum selectivity if these streams were of equal sizes. This would indicate that both terminal point were of equal attractiveness. This was the superficial situation while the recruited labour system, the stage of migration invasion, operated. But this is to think of the two streams as motivated by discrete and separate pressures whereas short-term, circular migration was a single pattern of pressures: migration and wage-earning were not ends in themselves but means whereby villages of origin were able to benefit and coexist, with a minimum of stress, alongside a money economy. It was for the benefit of their rural relationships that men migrated, not for themselves as in long-term migration. It is necessary to determine what is meant by the net gain of a terminal point for migrants: undoubtedly the labour camps mushroomed but in terms of individual life-histories the migrant returned to where he always wanted to be, in the end, often with capital and consumer durables which would otherwise have been unavailable. A transfer of non-human resources must become a part of a calculation of net gain. To understand short-term migration the perspective from the point of departure is more relevant than a vantage midway between streams concerned with the calculation of net advantage at points of arrival; the point of arrival of a short-term migrant was back in his village. But it was otherwise with the temporary urbanisation phase of colonisation when selectivity increased: people in their prime went to towns and dependents lived in rural areas.

Hypothesis four proposes that selectivity between the sexes is at a minimum when the push is strong and the pull weak. Why then does Table I column (2) show marked differences between provinces in respect of the exodus of women? Table II column (1) represents a powerful and almost equal push in all provinces. Wage-employment can scarcely be explained as a pull for rural women in Zambia for only 3 per cent of the present day labour force are women. Prostitution is uncommon though concubinage is common, but this does not indicate greater sexual license in Zambian towns whose divorce rates are not as high as those of rural areas. Polygamy in the rural areas and monogamy in the urban areas were not a strong influence in a situation where rural divorce was so easy to obtain. The prime explanation seems to lie in the nature of the push. It can be hypothesised that women who experienced both absolute and relative deprivation in the rural areas were more prone to migrate than women who experienced mainly absolute deprivation, and had some hope of seeing errant husbands back in the villages.

Bogue's final hypothesis is that inter-town migration characterises a modern industrial-urban society the extent of which in Zambia is associated with the beginnings of the transition from temporary to permanent urbanisation. From an analysis of the origins of labour hired and the reasons given for leaving the Copperbelt mines in 1959 this will
become clear; 71.3 per cent of the labourers hired had come directly from the rural areas, the remainder from other industrial-urban employment. But 43 per cent of the total intake to the mines who came directly from the rural areas had previous industrial experience and many might have been returning after visits to their rural relatives. Once on the Copperbelt, however, there was no equivalent return flow to the villages of men who left mining. Only 32.8 per cent indicated that they were immediately returning to the rural areas, and the remainder were prepared to drift to another job, usually in another town. Watching this scene from the rural areas in 1963 were the 44,000 men who were temporarily expelled from the towns by unemployment waiting nearby for an opportunity to re-engage in the search for wage employment. Such a situation is quite uncharacteristic of short-term migration which it has been explained is the past pattern of migration in Zambia.